1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbundu FP 13

in the household and then the names of all kinds of little objects until his speech is perfected.' 856

Weaning (*Oku sumūlhã* or *oku nyamūlhã*). Every day the child goes to the fields with his mother. As he grows and gets fatter and heavier he becomes quite a burden for her or for his young nurse. Until he has passed twelve months, however, there is no alternative, and more often his daily excursions continue well past his second birthday. When he is able to walk a little, then his mother may begin to leave him in the village with his young nurse while she goes to her field-work. 'So in the morning at daybreak his mother will give him his food on a little dish and the toddler (*ocisembe*) will eat until he is full. Then his mother will speak to him saying, Suckle (*Nyama*) for I am going to the veld; so he will suckle and his mother will go.' He will not suckle again until she returns at from 2 to 4 in the afternoon. Thus he begins to be weaned quite unconsciously, but that does not mean that the process will be finished quickly; it may continue for even more than two years yet, unless a younger brother or sister intervenes. 862

'Some children, however, do not stop suckling quickly and if that is the case, his mother will frighten him when he wants to suckle, for she will say, Look out, here is a bugaboo; for perhaps she will have put an ugly worm on her breast, or perhaps she will have rubbed on pepper and the child nursing will burn his mouth and begin to cry. But some children are shrewd so that when they taste the bitterness they will fetch water and wash the breast and it is very hard to wean them. The parent will try many different things until the child is weaned. Some children are only weaned after they are four years old or even older, but that is not common.'

As the preceding paragraph suggests, children of this age may be tyrants to their mothers and all the more since the Ovimbundu punish their children with reluctance. But field-work presses inexorably and much more can be accomplished without a child to hinder one. His mother may promise that if he doesn't cry she will bring him a rat or a bird. Then if he still does not *consent* to stay she may, with reluctance, apply the sterner measures of a slap or a proverb said in exasperation:[1] 861

Ove oku ku pikila ku kuta. (538)

You, making for you mush, you do not fill.

[1] The serious regard for the spoken word must be kept in mind.

relative after whom he is named.(1)

(b) Ordinarily the baby is named by the father from his family. According to Ennis,(2) the first male child is usually named after the paternal grandfather, the first female child after the paternal grandmother; the next two or three children are named after paternal uncles and aunts, and then the mother may choose a name. Childs writes that the name may be given by the mother if the father's family has a bad record of deaths and illnesses.

(c) The name must not prejudice but assist the child's chance of survival; thus a child born after the death of several siblings may be given an insignificant name, intended to cause the spirits to overlook it, or to consider it less than human.

(d) Events or persons prominent at the birth may influence the choice. A namesake, whether intentional or not, is known as *Sando* (from the Portuguese word for saint). Events at the time of birth may be summed up in a proverb, of which the key word is the name. Ennis gives numerous examples of such names.(3)

(e) The same names may belong to several families of a type, e.g. trading or farming families, or the families of paramount chiefs, who were jealous of their names and did not permit their use by commoners.

Parents take the name of their first-born: thus "Nanjamba" is "the mother of Njamba". During illness a person may change his name to draw away the attention of the spirits. Adolescents discard their birth names and choose new ones.(4)

Infancy

During the first six months the child sleeps with his mother and during the day is carried in a cloth on her back, and fed whenever he demands milk. If the mother has no helper, she works in the fields with the baby on her back. An older sister or other young relative may play with the infant within hearing distance of the mother.

Between six and twelve months the child is taught to sit; when he can do this he is no longer a baby *(onana)* but an *ocisembe* (toddler). A child rarely walks before the age of 24 months, since he is carried and held so much.

Weaning: a child goes every day with his mother to the fields; each month he becomes fatter and heavier, but he usually continues like this until after the second birthday. When he can walk, he may be left during the day with his young nurse (elder sister, cross-cousin or other relative) and not fed until the mother returns during the afternoon. The process of weaning begins then at this stage but is usually not completed till a year or two later, unless another baby intervenes. Those who take longer than usual in weaning may, however, be frightened away from the breast.(5)

(1) Childs, op.cit., p.87.
(2) 1945.
(3) op.cit.
(4) Childs, loc.cit.
(5) Childs, op.cit., p.93.

862 "The practice of leaving the *ocisemba* in the village by day makes his elder sibling[1] responsible for much of his education.... She herself may not be more than six or seven years old and consequently cannot be expected to 'educate' her charge very thoroughly. She interests herself in his walking and talking and he will initate her in many things."[2]

863 General instruction in cleanliness begins at this age, although sphincter control may have begun much earlier, since the mother feels every movement made by the baby on her back.

145 After weaning the physical development of the child proceeds more slowly than that of European peoples, and Childs believes that this may be due to deficiencies in diet.[3]

CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION

859 From the time a child is able to walk until he is about nine years old he continues seeing the same people as before, but he becomes less de-
861 pendent upon the elder sister or cousin who helped him, and begins his life-long association with his age-mates. The sex-division of society starts for him at this stage: from about eight years boys begin to eat in the *onjango* with their fathers, girls continuing in the kitchen with their mothers. After about eight years the father becomes largely responsible for the education of boys, the mother for that of girls. During this period the child's education may be summarised under three heads:

869 (a) *Psychological*, chiefly fear of real or imaginary dangers. This is imparted by mother, elder siblings, and perhaps by a grandmother; there is a tendency for the teaching of fear to be done by women.[4]

867 (b) *Social*, chiefly usages of etiquette and acquaintance with the kinship structure and its requirements. A child of about eight is supposed to know his social status and all the etiquette that pertains to it. In the *onjango* the hierarchy of age is observed, honoured guests and old men being served first, and so on all down the line. With the decline of the *onjango*, there has been a great decline in the teaching of etiquette and social usage, and this naturally affects boys rather than girls.

864 Little direct sex teaching is attempted, and adults are reticent in speaking of sexual matters in the presence of children. But since children live with their parents in one-roomed houses, it is inevitable that children should sometimes observe intercourse.

868 (c) *Training in skills*: Children are taught few definite skills before the age of eight or nine, but many of their games are in imitation of adult activities.

864 From the age of six or seven years children are usually sent to spend
857 one or two years with the mother's brother. They may also be sent to the father's sister or brother for a period, and, in the case of girls, to the mother's mother. Formerly prominent families sent their children for a

(1). Either a brother or sister may act as nurse.
(2) Childs, op.cit., p.95. (3) Ibid., p.97.
(4) Childs actually writes "the side of the basket" (p.100), but seems to be referring simply to female relatives.